

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 207700

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TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY
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UNCLAS STATE 207700

CORRECTED COPY - (ADDITION FIRST LINE PARA 3, 7, AND 13)

QUOTE

UNCLAS STATE 207700

E. O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: KUBISCH'S ADDRESS TO THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS
ASSOCIATION

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY
KUBISCH'S ADDRESS TO THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION
DELIVERED TODAY (OCTOBER 19):
2. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM.
I. INTRODUCTION. QUOTE AS I STAND HERE, I AM VERY
CONSCIOUS OF MY PREDECESSORS AT THIS PODIUM. THIS
DISTINGUISHED ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN THE FORUM IN YEARS PAST
FOR IMPORTANT PRONOUNCEMENTS OR DISCUSSIONS BY UNITED STATES
OFFICIALS REGARDING OUR POLICY TOWARD THE COUNTRIES OF
LATIN AMERICA.
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PAGE 02 STATE 207700

3. INDEED, FOUR YEARS AGO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES APPEARED BEFORE YOU TO PROPOSE NEW GOALS FOR THE
RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE REST OF THE
HEMISPHERE. BECAUSE I AM AWARE OF THESE PRECEDENTS, I

WISH TO MAKE CLEAR AT THE OUTSET THAT I WILL NOT BE MAKING ANY NEW OR DRAMATIC DECLARATIONS TODAY REGARDING UNITED STATES POLICIES OR PROGRAMS.

4. RATHER, I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME THOUGHTS AND OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE FUTURE COURSE OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THIS COUNTRY AND THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN

AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN.

5. TWO WEEKS AGO IN NEW YORK OUR NEW SECRETARY OF STATE, ADDRESSING LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS AND AMBASSADORS, CALLED FOR QUOTE A NEW DIALOGUE WITH OUR FRIENDS IN THE AMERICAS. END QUOTE HE SAID THAT IF THE TECHNICALLY ADVANCED NATIONS CAN EVER COOPERATE EFFECTIVELY WITH THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, AND IF PEOPLE WITH SIMILAR ASPIRATIONS CAN EVER ACHIEVE COMMON GOALS, THEN IT MUST BEGIN IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

6. SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD APPROACH SUCH A DIALOGUE WITH AN OPEN MIND AND THAT FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, NO INSTITUTION OR TREATY ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE BEYOND EXAMINATION.

7. SO MY PURPOSE HERE IS IN PART TO SALUTE YOU AND INDICATE THE VERY DEEP RESPECT WITH WHICH I AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT REGARD THE INTER-AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION, ITS PURPOSES, AND ITS DISTINGUISHED MEMBERSHIP, AND IN PART TO MAKE SOME CONTRIBUTION TO THE NEW DIALOGUE WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS PROPOSED. I DO THIS IN THE HOPE OF STIMULATING CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSES FROM OTHERS WHO, LIKE THE DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THIS AUDIENCE, ARE INTERESTED IN THE FUTURE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLES OF THIS HEMISPHERE.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 207700

8. II. THE SEARCH FOR A NEW RELATIONSHIP. IN HIS ADDRESS TO THIS ORGANIZATION FOUR YEARS AGO, PRESIDENT NIXON PROPOSED NEW GOALS FOR THE AMERICAS. HE URGED A RESHAPING AND REINVIGORATING OF OUR RELATIONSHIPS. IN EFFECT, THE PRESIDENT CALLED FOR AN END TO THE PREPONDERANT POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES WITHIN THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM -- AN END TO WHAT SOME HAVE CALLED UNITED STATES HEGEMONY, ALONG WITH ITS CUSTOMARY COMPANION, PATERNALISM.

9. WITH THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS IN MIND, THE PAST FOUR YEARS CAN BE SEEN AS A KIND OF SEARCH -- A QUEST BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE TOWARD A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE OLD AND PERHAPS OUTWORN PATTERN OF INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

10. IT SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISING THAT THE SEARCH HAS NOT YET FINALLY ENDED NOR THAT THE EFFORT TO DEFINE A NEW SET OF RELATIONSHIPS HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY STRAIN. THE OLD RELATIONSHIPS WERE, AFTER ALL, ALMOST A CENTURY -- AND, IN SOME RESPECTS, EVEN LONGER -- IN THE MAKING. MAJOR CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS ARE IN ANY CASE

COMPLEX, HAZARDOUS, AND UNCERTAIN UNDERTAKINGS.

11. THERE WERE NO MAGIC FORMULAS FOUR YEARS AGO, NOR DO ANY APPEAR TO BE AVAILABLE TODAY. WHAT IS QUITE APPARENT, HOWEVER, IS THAT FOR SOME TIME THERE HAS BEEN WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM -- AND BY THAT I MEAN ALL THE ORGANIZATIONS, TREATIES, CHARTERS, AND ENTITIES THAT COMPRISE IT -- THAT THE PRINCIPLES AND MODALITIES OF COOPERATION AND INTERACTION AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THIS HEMISPHERE NEED TO BE RETHOUGHT AND REFORMULATED. THERE IS STRONG AND GENERALIZED FEELING THAT PRESENT MODES OF OUR RELATIONS DO NOT REFLECT THE REALITIES OF A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD AND THE NEEDS OF THE HEMISPHERE TODAY. THERE IS A WIDELY HELD BELIEF THAT THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM ITSELF IS NOT WORKING WELL, THAT IT CONTAINS ANACHRONISTIC ELEMENTS AND VESTIGES OF THE PAST.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 207700

12. THIS GENERAL DISSATISFACTION WITH THE STATUS QUO WAS AT LEAST PARTIALLY EXPRESSED IN THE UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT AT THE OAS GENERAL ASSEMBLY LAST APRIL TO UNDERTAKE A PROCESS OF CONSULTATION AMONG OUR GOVERNMENTS TO TRY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON A RESTRUCTURED INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. AS A RESULT OF THAT DECISION, A SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE OAS HAS BEEN MEETING REGULARLY SINCE JUNE IN AN EFFORT TO RETHINK AND REWORK THE FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE.

13. THE UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS BEEN ATTENTIVE AND DELIBERATELY RESTRAINED. WE HAVE WISHED TO HEAR THE IDEAS OF OTHERS. WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO AVOID EVEN THE APPEARANCE OF TRYING TO PLAY TOO PROMINENT A ROLE IN THESE PROCEEDINGS. A NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS HAVE PUT FORTH NEW, INTERESTING AND IMAGINATIVE IDEAS FOR CHANGE, AND WE ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH MANY OF THEM. IT IS STILL TOO EARLY, HOWEVER, FOR A BROAD AND FINAL CONSENSUS TO HAVE EMERGED FROM THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE.

14. MORE RECENTLY ANOTHER SIGNIFICANT DIMENSION HAS BEEN ADDED TO THESE EFFORTS AT REFORMING AND RESTRUCTURING INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS. I REFER TO THE PERSONAL

COMMITMENT OF OUR NEW SECRETARY OF STATE TO BRING TO BEAR HIS EXTRAORDINARY INTELLECT, TALENTS, AND PRESTIGE TO THE PROCESS OF FINDING NEW POLICIES TO GOVERN INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

15. I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE SECRETARY HAS INITIATED AN URGENT REEXAMINATION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT OF OUR WESTERN HEMISPHERE POLICIES. I KNOW HE IS ALSO

LOOKING FORWARD TO LEARNING THE CONSIDERED VIEWS OF HIS LATIN AMERICAN COLLEAGUES ON THIS SUBJECT. HE IS NOT SEEKING TO DEVELOP A UNITED STATES PRESCRIPTION TO BE HANDED OVER TO LATIN AMERICA FOR ITS ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION. BY THE SAME TOKEN, HE HOPES THAT HIS COLLEAGUES TO THE SOUTH WILL ALSO NOT THINK IN TERMS OF PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE UNITED STATES. RATHER, THE OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE FULL, FRANK AND INFORMED DIALOGUE FROM WHICH WOULD EMERGE UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 207700

A POLICY FRAMEWORK DESIGNED TOGETHER BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL THE AMERICAS.

16. OBVIOUSLY CHANGES IN THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD THE HEMISPHERE ARE NOT ONE AND THE SAME THING. JUST AS OBVIOUSLY, HOWEVER, THE TWO ARE CLOSELY RELATED. WE UNDERSTAND THAT A NUMBER OF LATIN AMERICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS HAVE RESPONDED TO THE SECRETARY'S INITIATIVE AND THAT THERE WILL BE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AMONG LATIN AMERICAN OFFICIALS AS TO HOW, WHEN AND IN WHAT FORM TO RESPOND TO THIS HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE PROPOSED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER.

17. IT SHOULD BE OBVIOUS FROM WHAT I HAVE BEEN SAYING THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS NOT REACHED ANY FIRM AND IRREVOCABLE DECISIONS AS TO THE FUTURE OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. WE DO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE NEW SET OF INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIPS MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE PROFOUND CHANGES IN THE WORLD THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN RECENT YEARS. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT A REFORMED INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM MUST REFLECT THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF ALL THE PEOPLES AND NATIONS THAT PARTICIPATE IN IT -- AND THAT INCLUDES THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

18. III. PERSPECTIVES OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WHAT MAY BE REQUIRED IS A NEW CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE. I WOULD THEREFORE LIKE TO COMMENT ON SOME OF THE BROAD POSSIBILITIES WHICH SUGGEST THEMSELVES AS WE SEARCH FOR SUCH A NEW CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.

19. FIRST, HOWEVER, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT HOW THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM HAS EVOLVED OVER THE YEARS AND WHAT IT IS TODAY.

20. FROM ONE POINT OF VIEW THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM IS A SET OF RULES, PROCEDURES, AND PRACTICES THAT REGULATE THE BEHAVIOR OF ITS TWENTY-THREE MEMBERS -- INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES -- AMONG THEMSELVES.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 207700

21. FROM ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE, HOWEVER, THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM IS A BODY OF RULES, PROCEDURES, AND PRACTICES THAT HAS AS ONE OF ITS PRINCIPAL PURPOSES THE SHAPING OF THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ONE MEMBER OF THE HEMISPHERIC COMMUNITY -- THE UNITED STATES -- AND ALL OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THAT COMMUNITY. FOR WE MUST FRANKLY RECOGNIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES, PERHAPS BY VIRTUE OF THE ACCIDENTS OF HISTORY, HAS A SPECIAL, ALMOST UNIQUE IMPACT ON ALL THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. AS ONE OF MY LATIN AMERICAN FRIENDS ONCE REMARKED TO ME, QUOTE WE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA HAVE MANY DIFFERENCES, BUT ONE OF THE THINGS WE HAVE IN COMMON IS THE UNITED STATES. END QUOTE

22. THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM THAT HAS RESULTED, THEREFORE, HAS BEEN, AT LEAST IN PART, AN ATTEMPT BY THE MEMBERS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE COMMUNITY TO COPE WITH THE FACT THAT ONE MEMBER -- THE UNITED STATES -- HAS HAD ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND MILITARY POWER TO A MUCH GREATER DEGREE THAN THAT POSSESSED BY THE OTHER MEMBERS.

23. THE SYSTEM, IN MY VIEW, HAS BEEN FOR MOST OF ITS HISTORY RATHER SUCCESSFUL IN DEALING WITH THAT FACT OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE.

24. IT HAS ALSO PROVIDED AN ALLIANCE IN WHICH THE STRENGTH OF THE UNITED STATES COULD TO A LARGE EXTENT BE USED TO SHIELD THE COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE FROM EXTERNAL THREAT.

25. IT HAS DONE MORE THAN THAT, HOWEVER. THE SYSTEM, BY CONSECRATING IN SOLEMN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS THE JURIDICAL EQUALITY OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE REGION, HAS ALSO ASSISTED THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA IN CONSTRAINING AND EVEN REGULATING TO SOME EXTENT THE INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOR OF THE UNITED STATES.

26. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SYSTEM HAS ALSO DEVELOPED CERTAIN PRINCIPLES BY WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 207700

COMMITTED ITSELF TO USE ITS GREATER RESOURCES TO ASSIST THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE IN ADVANCING THEIR OWN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. THE POINT FOUR PROGRAM, THE INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ADMINISTRATION, THE INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, AND THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ARE BUT A FEW OF THE BETTER KNOWN ORGANIZATIONAL EXAMPLES OF HOW UNITED STATES ECONOMIC RESOURCES HAVE BEEN MARSHALLED FOR THE BENEFIT OF LATIN AMERICA.

27. NOR WERE THE BENEFITS OF THIS ARRANGEMENT ONE-SIDED, FOR THE SYSTEM HAS ALSO AFFORDED THE UNITED STATES AN OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER ITS OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS BY COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT AND NEGOTIATION, RATHER THAN SOLELY BY UNILATERAL ACTION. THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG RECOGNIZED THAT ITS OWN PRESENT AND LONG-RANGE INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY THE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING OF THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE.

28. THUS, THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM THAT HAS EVOLVED OVER THE COURSE OF A CENTURY HAS BEEN, BY AND LARGE -- AND WITH ALL ITS IMPERFECTIONS AND SHORTCOMINGS -- A NOTABLY SUCCESSFUL EFFORT IN ADAPTATION BY THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE TO THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF INTERNATIONAL LIFE. HOWEVER, HUMAN LIFE ON THIS PLANET HAS ALWAYS OUTDISTANCED THE STRUCTURES DEvised BY MEN TO REGULATE THEIR RELATIONS WITH ONE ANOTHER. AND PROBABLY IN NO OTHER ERA HAVE CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS BEEN AS RAPID AND AS FAR-REACHING AS IN RECENT YEARS.

29. WHAT ARE THESE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES AND HOW HAVE THEY AFFECTED THE NATIONS OF THIS HEMISPHERE?

30. IV. CHANGES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. ONE OF THE MOST PROFOUND CHANGES THAT HAS OCCURRED IN THE RECENT PAST IS THE END OF THE POSITION OF OVERWHELMING ECONOMIC SUPERIORITY ENJOYED BY THE UNITED STATES FOR MANY DECADES.

31. WE HAVE SEEN THE RISE OF EUROPE AND JAPAN TO THE STATUS OF ECONOMIC SUPERPOWERS. WE HAVE SEEN THE DECLINE
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PAGE 08 STATE 207700

OF THE DOLLAR AS THE BASIS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY AND TRADING SYSTEM DEVELOPED AFTER WORLD WAR II. WE HAVE SEEN THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY MOVING FROM ABUNDANCE -- EVEN OVER-ABUNDANCE -- OF ENERGY RESOURCES, FOODSTUFFS, AND OTHER COMMODITIES, TO SHORTAGES AND DEFICITS.

32. THESE CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE UNITED STATES ARE BOUND TO HAVE PROFOUND CONSEQUENCES FOR LATIN AMERICA. THEY MEAN THAT LATIN AMERICA MUST LOOK, NOT JUST

TO ONE DEVELOPED COUNTRY, BUT TO ALL DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO SHARE IN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PROVIDING THAT EXTRA MARGIN OF RESOURCES FROM ABROAD THAT THE REGION NEEDS FOR ITS DEVELOPMENT. THEY MEAN THAT LATIN AMERICA'S RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND WITH JAPAN HAVE TAKEN ON NEW IMPORTANCE -- THAT LATIN AMERICA IS LOOKING OUTWARD BEYOND THE HEMISPHERE FOR NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN TRADE AND INVESTMENT. WE REGARD THIS AS HEALTHY, AS PART OF THE BROAD MOVEMENT TOWARD A TRULY GLOBAL SYSTEM OF TRADE AND COMMERCE.

33. THIS SHIFT IN THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES ALSO IMPLIES THAT THIS COUNTRY MUST SEEK GREATER RECIPROCITY IN ITS ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD. BY THIS I DO NOT MEAN, OF COURSE, COMPLETE AND FULL RECIPROCITY IN OUR ECONOMIC INTERCOURSE WITH LATIN AMERICA. IT DOES SEEM TO ME, HOWEVER, THAT WE CAN NO LONGER PRESUME THAT, BECAUSE OF ITS GREATER RELATIVE WEALTH, THE ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE ALL RUN ONE WAY.

34. NOT ONLY HAS THERE BEEN A CHANGE IN RELATIVE POWER RELATIONSHIPS IN RECENT YEARS BUT THERE HAS BEEN TO SOME EXTENT A REDEFINITION OF POWER ITSELF. IN LARGE PART, THIS REDEFINITION HAS BEEN BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE RECOGNITION OF THE UNTHINKABILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR.

35. WHATEVER THE REASON, WE NOW SEE THE RISE OF STATES AND OF GROUPS OF STATES WHOSE POWER IS NOT MEASURED BY MILITARY CAPABILITIES ALONE, BUT ALSO BY THEIR ECONOMIC DYNAMISM AND COMMAND OF VITAL RESOURCES, NOT TO MENTION THEIR MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL FORCE IN THE WORLD.
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 207700

36. THIS REDEFINITION OF POWER HAS OPENED UP THE PROSPECTS OF A DIFFERENT KIND OF WORLD FROM THE ONE WE HAVE BECOME ACCUSTOMED TO. IT IS, TO USE A FAMILIAR PHRASE, A MULTIPOLAR WORLD IN WHICH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES, SUB-REGIONAL AND REGIONAL BLOCS CAN TAKE THEIR PLACE ALONGSIDE THE MILITARY SUPER POWERS AND PLAY VIGOROUS WORLD ROLES.

37. THE MOVEMENT TOWARD GREATER STRENGTH BY REGIONAL COOPERATION IS PROBABLY FARTHEST ADVANCED IN WESTERN EUROPE. REGIONAL UNITY WOULD SEEM TO ME, HOWEVER, TO OFFER HIGHLY IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITIES FOR OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD AS WELL, AND ESPECIALLY LATIN AMERICA.

38. THERE ARE ALREADY SEVERAL EFFORTS WITHIN LATIN AMERICA TOWARD SUB-REGIONAL AND REGIONAL COOPERATION WHICH SHOW GREAT PROMISE. IN ADDITION TO THE SUBREGIONAL EFFORTS AT ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, SUCH AS THE ANDEAN PACT, THE CARIBBEAN FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION, AND THE CENTRAL

AMERICAN COMMON MARKET, FOR EXAMPLE, WE SEE AN IMPRESSIVE CAPABILITY AMONG THE LATIN AMERICAN AND, ALSO, THE CARIBBEAN STATES TO FORMULATE COMMON POSITIONS ON WORLD AND REGIONAL ISSUES. IT IS QUITE EASY TO ENVISAGE A POINT BETWEEN NOW AND THE END OF THIS CENTURY WHEN LATIN AMERICA, OR MAJOR PARTS OF IT, WILL HAVE REACHED A DEGREE OF POLITICAL COOPERATION AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION COMPARABLE TO OR SURPASSING THAT NOW ENJOYED BY THE

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

39. IN MY OPINION, GREATER COHESION AND COOPERATION AMONG LATIN AMERICAN STATES EITHER AT THE REGIONAL OR SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL SHOULD BE REGARDED BY THE UNITED STATES AS A HIGHLY FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT. IF SOME OF THE PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS IN THE PAST HAVE BEEN DUE TO A TOO DOMINANT UNITED STATES ROLE IN THE HEMISPHERE, THEN A STRONGER AND MORE UNITED LATIN AMERICA WILL SERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL.

40. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND OBVIOUS CHANGES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE HAS BEEN THE REPLACEMENT OF THE COLD UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 207700

WAR BY A MOVEMENT TOWARD DETENTE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES, THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA. THE ACCOMPANYING RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION -- ONLY TEMPORARILY THREATENED, I HOPE, BY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- HAS FAVORABLE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ENTIRE WORLD, LATIN AMERICA NOT EXCEPTED.

41. FINALLY, THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT CHANGES WITHIN THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN THEMSELVES. NATIONALISM, WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN A DYNAMIC FORCE IN LATIN AMERICA, AS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD, IS IN OUR DAY ASSUMING NEW AND POTENTIALLY MUCH MORE CONSTRUCTIVE AND FARTHER REACHING DIMENSIONS. MANY NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA HAVE ALSO BROADENED THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY -- QUITE RIGHTLY, IN MY VIEW -- TO EMBRACE OVERALL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. THEY ARE ALSO SEEKING BETTER WAYS TO EXPRESS THEIR NATIONAL IDENTITIES AND PERSONALITIES, AND TO INCREASE CONTROL OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

42. THE NEW OPENNESS AND MORE FORWARD-LOOKING SPIRIT IN THE WORLD, THE VASTLY INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERACTION BETWEEN NATIONS AND GROUPS OF NATIONS ON A GLOBAL SCALE THROUGH THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES, GOODS, AND IDEAS, WILL CERTAINLY HELP THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA IN THEIR QUEST FOR A FULLER, RICHER, AND MORE SATISFYING NATIONAL LIFE.

43. V. LOOKING AHEAD. THE CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT WHICH I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DESCRIBE MEAN THAT THE INTER-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IS AT A TRULY HISTORIC CROSSROADS.

44. IN MY OPINION, THE CHALLENGES WHICH FACE THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM REQUIRE BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE SOLUTIONS IF OUR REGIONAL RELATIONSHIPS ARE TO REFLECT THE NEW

REALITIES. IT SEEMS THAT WE MUST DEVISE NEW PRINCIPLES AND PROCEDURES WHICH RECONCILE THE DIFFERING IMPERATIVES OF OUR RESPECTIVE NATIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES WITH THE GROWING UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 207700

INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG NATIONS. SUCH AN EFFORT OFFERS US BOTH THE POSSIBILITY AND THE CHALLENGE OF WRITING A MAJOR NEW CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

45. MANY OF THE IDEAS WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD DURING THE CURRENT DELIBERATIONS OF THE OAS SPECIAL COMMITTEE, ON WHICH SIT MANY DISTINGUISHED AND THOUGHTFUL MEMBERS, HAVE BEEN INSPIRED BY JUST SUCH A GOAL. PROGRESS IN THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE HAS NOT BEEN EASY, BUT THIS SHOULD NOT SURPRISE US. AS THE SECRETARY OF STATE RECENTLY REMINDED US IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE PACEM IN TERRIS CONFERENCE, INTERNATIONAL LIFE CONSISTS OF RELATIONS AMONG SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES, AND TO ATTEMPT TO CONSTRUCT A BODY OF PRINCIPLES THAT WILL REGULATE THE BEHAVIOR OF SUCH PROUD, INDEPENDENT AND QUITE DIFFERENT STATES -- TO ATTEMPT TO LEGISLATE SUCH BEHAVIOR AND TO DO SO IN A WAY THAT WILL STAND THE TEST OF TIME -- IS AN ENORMOUSLY DIFFICULT TASK, AS HISTORY SO AMPLY DEMONSTRATES.

46. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS REACHED NO HARD-AND-FAST CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE FUTURE OF ITS RELATIONSHIPS IN THIS HEMISPHERE, EXCEPT THAT THEY SHOULD EVOLVE IN A WAY THAT REFLECTS THE REALITIES IN THE WORLD AND BEST SERVES THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF ALL OUR COUNTRIES.

47. WE LOOK FORWARD EAGERLY TO THE NEW, CLOSER, HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE WITH OUR NEIGHBORS IN THIS HEMISPHERE. WE SHALL LISTEN TO THEIR VIEWS CLOSELY AND CAREFULLY AS WE REFORMULATE AND DEVELOP OUR OWN POLICIES. WE DO NOT WISH TO -- NOR COULD WE -- MAKE ANY DECISIONS UNILATERALLY ABOUT THE FUTURE COURSE OF THIS HEMISPHERE TO WHICH WE BELONG AND WHICH WE CHERISH SO DEEPLY.

48. IF WE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE ARE TO BREAK OUT INTO NEW GROUND IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, WE MUST ONCE AGAIN BECOME PIONEERS.

49. WE MUST EMBARK ON WHAT SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS
CHARACTERIZED AS A NEW ADVENTURE OF FREE PEOPLES, WORKING
TOGETHER TO ESTABLISH A NEW SET OF RELATIONSHIPS THAT
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12 STATE 207700

WILL BE AN EXAMPLE TO THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD --
TO FIND A NEW WAY OF RECONCILING OUR DIFFERENCES AND OUR
INEQUALITIES SO AS TO ENSURE PEACE, PROGRESS, PROSPERITY
AND JUSTICE FOR ALL. END QUOTE. KISSINGER

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